



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

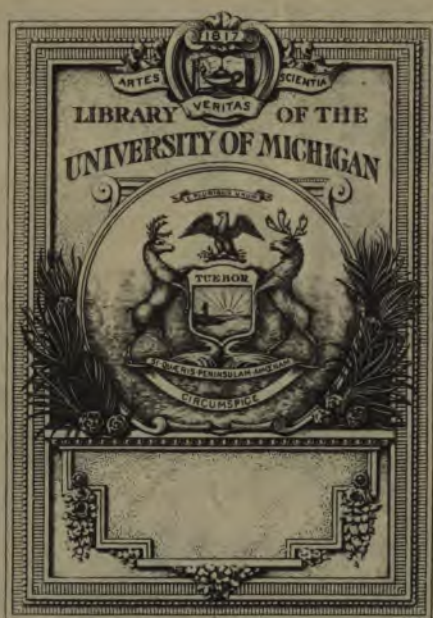
F

7.5

F35

A 402922

Terguson — Sir Edmund Andros



*Sir Edmund Andros,*

By Henry Ferguson, M. B.

---

Westchester County Historical Society,  
Oct. 28, 1892.







# *Sir Edmund Andros,*

By Henry Ferguson, M. A.

---

Westchester County Historical Society,  
Oct. 28, 1892.



1

2

3

4

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

In addressing the Historical Society of Westchester County, I need no apologies for my selection of a subject : The Character and Administration of Sir Edmund Andros, Lieutenant Governor of New York under Charles II., Governor and Captain General of New England under James II., and also of New York, (which for a time was added to that dominion,) and finally Governor of Virginia under William and Mary. The career of a public servant in so many administrations must be of interest to all students of American history, especially as in Andros we see the contact of Stuart rule with the rising spirit of self-government in the Colonies. To New-Yorkers the subject should possess a peculiar interest, as to Andros is due much of the rapid progress and development of the province in its early days. He possessed the quality so rare in Englishmen, of being able to deal with a non-English population justly and fairly, so justly that he exposed himself to charges from his hungry fellow countrymen of favoring the Dutch to the disadvantage of the English. He possessed that other faculty, which a few of the greatest Englishmen have possessed with him, of winning the affection and good will of a savage people ; and New York should always remember gratefully the Governor whose wise and just dealings with the Five Nations made them a defence rather than a danger.

It has been impossible for me in the course of a single lecture to enter into any details of Andros's rule in New York, or of his other governments. I have tried to analyze the character of the man and the conditions of his life, and to follow him in rapid outline through his eventful career. I may also say, in apology, that, as a Connecticut man, I have given especial attention to his connection with the history of my native state, so that if my treatment of the subject seems ill proportioned, you must excuse me on the ground of patriotism; and as I am speaking to representatives of a territory, a large part of which belonged to Connecticut in the time of Andros, I feel that I require still less of an apology.

It is the unfortunate fate of many excellent and useful public servants, that, in carrying out even desirable measures of State, they are compelled to render themselves personally unpopular. The Crown of Great Britain was generally unfortunate in the officials who represented its authority in the American colonies; but by a strange injustice of history, many of the utterly bad ones have had their faults kindly forgotten or condoned, while one of the most able and efficient of them all remains pilloried as a tyrant and oppressor in the popular histories of America, and even fails to receive the recognition due to his services from his English fellow countrymen.

The caustic pens of the Mathers, the bitter spite of the men who controlled public opinion in Massachusetts, have drawn for us an Andros whose proud, vindictive, persecuting face rises to the

mind when the name is mentioned. Local patriotism in Connecticut has created a series of poetical myths, or heroic legends, in regard to his administration, which tend to obscure the sober truth of history. New York has more grateful memories of the Governor who secured and extended her dominion, and protected her by his wise and steady policy from her most dangerous foes. Virginia is less grateful, as the unfortunate circumstance that Andros quarreled with an ambitious Scotch divine has sufficed to obscure the many material benefits rendered to that province by his wise administration.

It has been said of a modern political character, "We love him for the enemies he has made." We need think none the less highly of Andros from the fact that he failed to please the ecclesiastical authorities, different as they were in Massachusetts and Virginia at that time.

The true reason why Andros was so hated in New England, and failed for so long to obtain justice even in New York, was that he was the agent for carrying out the plan of the union of the colonies. The separatist spirit, that preferred petty local privileges to the benefits of union, that spirit so destructive to the country all through its history, was at that time successful, owing to the entirely disconnected circumstance that the consolidation was urged by the ministers of a king who was misgoverning his people in England. James's foolish and wicked projects in England discredited his statesmanlike attempt in America; and th

parochial theory of colonial integrity survived to plague the descendants of the men who effected it.

Edmund Andros was born in London Dec. 6, 1637, of a family that was eminent among the adherents of Charles I. His father, Amice Andros, was the head of the family ; he possessed an estate upon the Island of Guernsey, and was royal bailiff of that island. His mother was Elizabeth Stone, whose brother, Sir Robert Stone, was cup-bearer to the unfortunate Elizabeth, the dispossessed Queen of Bohemia and Electress Palatine, and was also captain of a troop of horse in Holland.

At the time of Edmund's birth, his father was master of ceremonies to the king; and the boy was brought up in the royal household, very possibly on terms of intimacy with the young princes whom he afterwards served and who were only slightly his seniors. For a time he is said to have been a page at court; but if this be true, it must have been when he was extremely young, as court life ceased to have charms, if not absolutely to exist, after the civil war broke out in 1642, and at this time the boy was but five years old.

Faithful to the fates of his slaughtered and of his exiled master, we find the lad in Guernsey with his father, defending the island manfully against Cromwell, and after the fall of Castle Cornet receiving his first lessons in the field in Holland under Prince Henry of Nassau. (It is a curious fact, trifling in appearance, but possibly not without significance, that during the Commonwealth, Increase Mather was chaplain of some of the troops in Guernsey, and may even at that early

date have formed the personal dislike which is so evident in his later actions). The services of the Andros family were so conspicuous, as exhibiting their constancy and fidelity in this period of trial and discouragement, that Edmund with his father and his uncle was specially exempted by name from a general pardon that was issued to the people of Guernsey by Charles II. on his restoration, on the ground that they "had to their great credit, during the late rebellion, continued inviolably faithful to his majesty, and consequently have no need of being comprised in the general pardon."

The young soldier, who found himself restored to home and safety at the age of 23, had passed a stormy youth; his natural boyish loyalty had been strengthened by what he had suffered on account of it. He had seen those whom he most respected and revered, dethroned and exiled, living as pensioners on the grudging bounty of inhospitable princes. He had seen the legal government of England subverted by force of arms by men whose professions of their respect for law were never louder than when they were overthrowing it, and had seen England ground down under the harsh rule of a military despotism. He had seen the orderly and regular services of the Church of England proscribed, its ministers turned out of their parishes to make room, not only for severe Presbyterians and iconoclastic Independents, but for ranting sectaries, who made the name of religion a by-word and a mockery. It cannot be wondered that the young cavalier grew up deeply impressed with the horrors of rebellion and

usurped authority, and with the conviction that much might be sacrificed for the sake of lawful and regular government, or that, being as he was a member of the church that had been proscribed and persecuted during the reign of the self-styled "godly," he should have been rendered all the warmer in his attachment to her orderly and decent rights and ceremonies, as by law established.

It should be remembered that the severity that was shown to the Dissenters at the Restoration, came largely from their close association with the civil war and the government of the commonwealth. The cloak of religion had been made to cover the overthrow of the liberties of Parliament, the killing of the king, and the rule of Cromwell, and it is not unnatural, though most regrettable, that the victorious cavaliers should have failed to make all the proper distinctions between dissent and rebellion.

American historians, especially those who have inherited New England traditions, have always found it difficult to admit that there could be any good in a man who adhered to the fortunes of the Stuarts, or who worshipped in the church over which Laud had once been primate. But at the present day such ancestral hostility ought to be pretty well extinguished; our opinions of the characteristics of our Puritan forefathers are undergoing now-a-days somewhat radical revision, and it is to be hoped that, before long, men will be able to see that there was no more difference between the Englishman who charged with Rupert and the Englishman who prayed and fought with Crom-

well, than there was between the Americans who stood behind the stone wall on the Cemetery Hill at Gettysburg and the other Americans who charged with desperate valor up the hill to their death. Each side fought for a principle that was dearer to them than life, and, strange to say, the warring principles were very much the same. Both Cavalier and Puritan were fighting for what they deemed to be the law against those whom they deemed to be the violators of it. If we praise the men who hated the arbitrary government of Charles, it is unfair to condemn those who hated with equal fervor the far more arbitrary government of Oliver and his major-generals.

I have dwelt upon these early conditions of the life of Andros because they are necessary for a comprehension of his character. They show the influences which tended to form in him his most notable characteristics; loyalty to his sovereign, a passion for regularity and legal methods in the management of affairs, and a zeal for the Church of England. The promotion of the young soldier followed quickly, as he continued to display the fidelity and capacity of which his boyhood had given promise. His uncle's position in the household of Elizabeth determined the direction of his promotion, and the nephew was made gentleman-in-ordinary to the Queen of Bohemia in 1660, a position more honorable than remunerative, which was soon terminated by her death in 1662. His military training was developed by the war with the Dutch, in which he won further distinction. The position he had held in the court of the exiled



queen won him a wife in 1671, in the person of a young kinswoman of Lord Craven, who had been the devoted servant, if not the husband; of Elizabeth. This was the Lord Craven who was the one officer of the army that remained faithful to James II. to the last, and, though eighty years old, put himself at the head of his regiment of body-guards to defend the king from insult, when William of Orange was already in London.

The court positions held by Andros in the reign of Charles II., are not such as we might have expected of a brilliant young cavalier who only cared for place and plunder, wine and women; they indicate rather that passionate devotion to the house of Stuart even in misfortune, which the most worthless of that line were always able to inspire, devotion generally recompensed by gross ingratitude. His marriage was evidently, from the prominence Andros himself gives to it, a high connection for a simple country gentleman to make, but it did not have the effect of detaching him from a soldier's life; for in the very next year he appears as commander of the regiment that had been sent to Barbadoes, and had even at that time obtained the reputation of being well versed in American affairs.

One is inclined to suspect that he may have come to New York soon after its capture from the Dutch, and there have become acquainted with the problems that confronted the colonies; but there is no evidence that he had done so, and it is possible that it was his intimacy with Lord Craven, who was interested in America, that led him to

give careful attention to the subject. His service in Barbadoes was short, for we soon find him home again with his four companies, which were incorporated in a new dragoon regiment that was raised at this time for Prince Rupert, the son of his patroness, the first English regiment ever armed with the bayonet. This was the period when the proprietors of Carolina were drawing up their remarkable feudal constitution, and were dividing lands and titles among themselves. Lord Craven, who was one of the proprietors, seeing the interest Andros was taking in American affairs, procured him a patent, conferring upon him the title and dignity of a Margrave, together with four baronies to support the title, containing some 48,000 acres. This gift, however, was only valuable as a token of his friend's esteem.

At his father's death in 1674, he succeeded him in his seigniorship of Sausmarez, and in the office of Bailiff of Guernsey. He was not, however, fated to dwell in quiet and cultivate his father's acres; for at the end of the second Dutch war, when his regiment was mustered out of service, he was selected, probably, on account of his familiarity with colonial affairs, to receive the surrender of New York and its dependencies, in accordance with the treaty of peace. The territory thus recovered had been granted by Charles II., at the time of its first seizure in 1664, to his brother, the Duke of York; and Andros, who must have been personally known to them both, was now appointed Governor General of the Palatine province. His commission bears date of July 1, 1674. He was well fitted for

the position. His residence in Holland had made him familiar with the people with whom he was chiefly to deal, and his acquaintance with American affairs stood him in good stead in matters of general policy, as his administration soon disclosed. His connection with the court and with the royal family enabled him to act as a confidential agent of the Duke. He arrived in New York in November accompanied by his wife, and after some formalities entered upon his government. His treatment of the conquered Dutch was marked with great tact and judgment, and rarely has the transfer of a colony of one nation to the rule of another been effected with so little friction or disturbance.

But it was of more importance for the future history of the country, that he continued the wise and judicious policy of his predecessors in regard to the powerful and dangerous confederation of the Iroquois or Five Nations. It is true that this policy was not original with him; he took it as a legacy from the Dutch in 1674 as Nicolls had done ten years before; but it may be said that his honest and judicious administration of Indian affairs did much to save the English colonies from being wiped out of existence by a general Indian war \*. If the Iroquois had been roused to go on the war-path, as were the unfortunate Indians of New England, it is hard to see what could have saved the scattered settlements. And again, if Andros, by a tortuous and deceitful policy like that of the United Colonies toward the New England Indians, had thrown the Iroquois into the arms of the French, who were only too anxious for reconcilia-

tion with them, there is little probability that the valor of Wolfe would ever have had a chance for success on the plains of Abraham.

As a provincial governor Andros made many enemies, but they were mainly in the colonies lying adjacent to his own. The patent of New York was very extensive, and covered territory which the neighboring colonies claimed had already been ceded to them. Connecticut had vague claims all the way to the South Sea, and had been devoting its energies during the short space of its history to edging along its frontier further and further to the westward, in spite of the indignant protests of the Dutch. Settlements had been formed on Long Island, which was undoubtedly beyond its limits. Now, the dispute was between rival colonies of the same country; and, considering the uncertainty of the title of Connecticut, Andros must be allowed to have acted with propriety and moderation. He succeeded in securing for the Duke, Long Island and Fisher's Island, where the Connecticut authorities were attempting to exercise jurisdiction; but the boundary line upon the mainland remained an unsettled question even down to our own times. At Saybrook, Andros did his duty in asserting formally his principal's claim, but was wise enough not to press a question which would have caused great difficulties between the colonies.

With the New Jersey settlers he had still more difficulty, as they had various grants and patents from the Duke himself to plead for their justifica-

\* That this was recognized in Conn., at least, v. letter of Lieut. Col. Talcott, Conn. Col. Rec. (1678-89) p., 399.

tion; but he pursued a straightforward course, standing up, as he was bound to do, for the rights of his principal, unless they could be legally shown to have been granted away. His passion for regular and orderly business methods soon manifested itself, and his letters reveal the indignation of a man of affairs at the utterly unbusinesslike ways of the people with whom he had to do.

Besides his commission as Governor of New York, he had undoubtedly private instructions as to how he should comport himself towards his uneasy neighbors, the New England colonies. He was anxious to keep on good terms with Connecticut, as New York was largely dependent upon that colony for provisions, and his letters to the Connecticut authorities are mostly of a friendly character, though written in a tone of superiority which undoubtedly gave serious offence. On hearing that the people of Hartford were harboring one of the regicides, he addressed a very sharp letter to the colonial authorities, to which they replied in a tone of injured innocence, which is quite edifying, asking him for the names of those who had so maligned their loyalty.

It was impossible for the Connecticut republicans to realize the profound horror which the execution of Charles I. had caused, and the depth of the feeling of hatred and repugnance which the perpetrators of that audacious act had inspired. Even after William and Mary were on the throne, and James II. an exile, it was found that a regicide of the character and position of Ludlow dared not show himself in England; and during the

restoration period the feeling was intense. The act was regarded by the majority of Englishmen as sacrilege, as well as murder, for it had destroyed not only what was called the sacred majesty of the King, but also the sacred majesty of the legal government. To Andros the news that Goffe and Whalley were escaping justice by the connivance of the authorities, was horrible; and it must have suggested doubts, if he had not found them already, of the policy of allowing men who would have been excluded from all office in England to rule the king's colonies in America.

A more serious difficulty arose with Massachusetts, whose authorities had ventured to send commissioners to the Mohawks to treat directly with them as an independent nation—an act at utter variance with the policy of the Dutch and English administration, which regarded them as under their authority, and therefore liable to plunge the colony in war. The ostentatious assumption of independence by the colony of Massachusetts, its claim to be free from the laws of England, and the spirit displayed by many of its leaders, which must have seemed seditious to the legal mind of Andros, made it necessary for him to watch very carefully any affairs in which they were concerned. His attitude brought upon him the hostility of the colony, and its authorities asserted and constantly reiterated the charge that it was by his connivance, and at Albany, that Philip's Indians had procured supplies of arms.

This charge, naturally, was most offensive to the loyal spirit of Andros, who had fretted a good

deal under his forced inactivity in the war, and he repeatedly denied it and challenged his accusers for proof of their assertions, proof which they were absolutely unable to supply. The malicious statement, however, they continued to insinuate, and it was long believed by the people of Massachusetts, and led, undoubtedly, to much of the hostility between them and Andros during his subsequent rule in New England. In spite of their aspersions he continued steadily in his Indian policy, keeping the Mohawks quiet on one side, and by vigorous measures against the Indians in Maine, protecting his personal enemies from inroads upon the other. His government of New York was successful; the country remained in peace; its quiet contrasted strongly with the troubles in New England, and the revenues of the colony were honestly collected and wisely administered. To those who hold the commonly received opinion of Andros, it will seem strange to find that he urged upon the Duke of York the desirability of allowing the colonists the privileges of a representative assembly (N. Y. Col. Doc. II., 235). In November, he returned to England on a leave of absence, remaining there until May of the following year.

While in England he received the honor of knighthood, a sign that his labors were appreciated, and laid before the Committee for Trade and Plantations an elaborate statement in regard to American affairs, which is of great value as exhibiting the condition of the colonies, and especially New York, at that time. His replies about New England are such as we might expect from a man of his character and position, and disclose no hostility.

He says that "the acts of trade and navigation are said, and is generally believed, not to be observed in the colonies as they ought," a statement which is certainly moderate; and also, "I do not find but the generality of the magistrates and people are well affected to the king and kingdom, but most, knowing no government but their own, think it best, and are wedded and opinionated for it. And the magistrates and others in place, chosen by the people, think that they are obliged to assert and maintain said government all they can, and are church members and like so to be chosen, and to continue without any considerable alteration and change there, and depend upon the people to justify them in their actings." For a description of a Puritan republic by a royalist and churchman, this is remarkably fair and correct.

The last two years of his government in New York were vexed with difficulties with some of the English merchants of the province, who were probably pinched by Andros's strict and methodical, and possibly also narrow and literal, administration of the revenue laws. He was openly accused by them, and by other discontented parties, to the Duke of York as dishonest in his management of the revenue, and was summoned home to answer to the charges. A special commissioner was sent to investigate the accounts, who was absurdly incompetent for the position, but who took the side of the merchants in his report (N. Y. Col. Doc. iii. 302-8). Andros, however, was able to answer satisfactorily every charge against him, and boldly demanded a thorough examination of all his acts



as Governor. He was examined before Churchill and Jeffreys, neither of whom would have been likely at that time to let any one go free who had defrauded the Duke, and they reported that Andros "had not misbehaved himself, or broken the trust reposed in him by his royal highness, in the administration of his Government, nor doth it appear that he hath anyway defrauded or mismanaged his revenue."

Though completely exonerated, it was inexpedient for him to continue in the Governorship, and the next five years of his life were passed in England at court, where he obtained an honorable position in the Household, and in his estates in Guernsey. (N. Y. Col. Doc. ii. 741, Hutch. Col. 542). In 1685, before the death of Charles II., he received a military command once more, being made lieutenant-colonel of the Princess Anne's regiment of horse in the command of the Earl of Scarsdale. In this position he served in the campaign in the west of England against Monmouth; and the silence of his enemies in regard to any acts of cruelty at this time is a high tribute, for if they had known of any, they would undoubtedly have held him up for abhorrence as a persecutor.

The accession of James, under whom he had acted previously, made it likely that Andros would again receive employment. In spite of the fact that he was a devoted adherent of the Church of England, the king, who was attempting to restore the Roman worship, gave him his full confidence, and entrusted him with the work of carrying out a project which had been for some time before the

minds of the Colonial authorities in England—the consolidation of New England into a single province. This was no new idea of James II., but had been discussed for several years, and was a plan that had much to recommend it. As early as 1680 Culpepper had urged the project, and the preliminary measure had been adopted of appointing a general revenue officer for all the American colonies, with the power of selecting his own subordinates. The notorious Randolph, a man of strict honesty and probity of life, but unable to see more than his own side of any question, was appointed deputy surveyor general for the New England Colonies, and devoted his energies to obtaining the forfeiture of the patent of Massachusetts. The astuteness and bribery of the Massachusetts agents were able to defer the evil day until the autumn of 1684, when the Charter was vacated. This left Massachusetts in the hands of the crown; the next problem was to obtain the vacating of the more regular charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island. Writs of *quo warranto* were issued, and sent to the colonies respectively, and the submission of Rhode Island, after some decent protests, was obtained.

Andros was chosen by the king for the important post of Governor-General, not, as Palfrey insinuates, because he was peculiarly disagreeable to Massachusetts, and so likely to carry out the objects of the king; but because the king knew him personally, and knew him to be a man of capacity and integrity. It is absurd to suppose that James, who was an experienced man of business himself, and more familiar with Colonial affairs

than any King of England before or since, would have intentionally selected a man for the purpose who would endanger the success of the undertaking. Col. Kirke, who had been actually designated as Governor, had been withdrawn as a *persona non grata* to New England. It is unnecessary here to enter into any arguments to show the advantage that would have accrued to the colonies if this judicious plan had been successful. New England might have been spared much wasteful legislation and ruinous financial experiments, and would have been joined together in one strong province, instead of being composed of several weak and jealous colonies; the union, the benefits of which it took the colonies so long to learn, would have been facilitated, and a strong and united front would have been presented to the French, who were beginning now to threaten the existence of the English colonies. The Stuarts, it is true, were pensioners and allies of the king of France in Europe, but they were his natural and inevitable enemies in America, and James, who, unlike his brother, felt deeply the shame of his vassalage to the French, was anxious to prevent any extension of French power in America.

Andros arrived in Boston in December, 1686, and was received in a most loyal and even enthusiastic manner. A large portion of the Massachusetts people had grown weary of the rule of the oligarchy, and Andros was welcomed as bringing with him the protection of English law. His government had been constituted in detail in his commission, and he at once proceeded to organize it and to levy the taxes necessary for its support. Deprived of

the representative assembly in which the semblance of free government had been preserved, one of the towns attempted to resist the tax. The leaders of the movement were tried fairly and legally, and were fined and imprisoned for their attempt at resistance. After this no attempts were made to dispute the laws of the new government, until the revolution, which overthrew all legal authority in the colony, broke out in 1689.

It was very important for Andros that the submission of Connecticut should be obtained without conflict, as Massachusetts, like New York, was largely dependent upon the neighboring colony for food. The Connecticut authorities fenced and parried, interposed delays, and showed themselves, as they always did, clever men of business, exhibiting qualities that doubtless raised Governor Treat and Secretary Allyn in Andros's estimation. Finally, however, when further resistance was dangerous, a letter was sent which could be construed either as a surrender or as not a surrender, so that they might have a safe retreat in any case; and on the strength of this letter, Andros assumed the government. The period that follows is sometimes described as the "usurpation," but there is nothing in the history of the times to give one the impression that the government of Andros in Connecticut was not as regular and legal a government as the colony ever had. If Andros had not been overthrown in Massachusetts by a carefully prepared rebellion which left the colonies without a governor, it is not likely that either Connecticut or Rhode Island would have ventured to resume its charter.

Andros came to Connecticut in October, 1687, travelling by way of Providence and New London, and from New London across country through what are now Salem, Colchester, and Glastonbury, to the Rocky Hill ferry. He was attended by a "company of gentlemen and grenadiers to the number of sixty or upwards," and was met at the ferry by a troop of horse which conducted him honorably from the ferry through Waterfield (Wethersfield), up to Hartford. Of the transactions at Hartford we have the dramatic story of local tradition, the only proof of which was the existence of an oak tree said to have been the receptacle of the charter. For this romantic story there is absolutely no contemporary authority, and it is inherently improbable. The charter very possibly may have been concealed, and very possibly in the Charter Oak, but the incidents of the familiar story are unsupported by any contemporary evidence. The records of the colony contain simply the formal but expressive entry; "His Excellency, Sir Edmund Andros, Knt., Capt. Generall and Gov<sup>r</sup> of his Mat<sup>ies</sup> Territorie and Dominion in New England, by order from his Mat<sup>e</sup>, James the second, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, the 31 of October took into his hands the government of this colony of Connecticut, it being by his Mat<sup>e</sup> annexed to the Massachusetts and other colonys under his Excellencies Government. FINIS."

Bulkeley, in the "Will and Doom," relates that Andros was met at Hartford by the trained bands of divers towns, who united to pay him their respects.

"Being arrived at Hartford," he continues, "he is greeted and caressed by the Gov<sup>r</sup> and assistants, and some say, though I will not confidently assert it, that the Gov<sup>r</sup> and one of his assistants did declare to him the vote of the Gen<sup>l</sup> Court for their submission to him. However, after some treaty between his Excell<sup>cy</sup> and them that evening, he was, the next morning, waited on and conducted by the Gov<sup>r</sup>, Deputy Gov<sup>r</sup>, Assistants and Deputies, to the Court Chamber, and by the Gov<sup>r</sup> himself directed to the Gov<sup>r</sup>'s seat, and being there seated (the late Gov<sup>r</sup>, Assistants and Deputys being present & the Chamber thronged as full of people as it was capable of), His Excellency declared that his Majesty had, *according to their desire*, given him a commission to come and take on him the government of Connecticut, and caused his commission to be publicly read." That being done, his Excellency showed that it was his Majesty's pleasure to make the late Gov<sup>r</sup> and Capt. John Allyn members of his council, and called upon them to take their oaths, which they did forthwith, and all this in that publick and great assembly, *nemine contradicente*, and only one man said that they first desired that they might continue as they were.

"After this his Excellency proceeded to erect courts of judicature, and constituted the s<sup>d</sup> John Allyn, Esq. & Judge of the Inferiour Court of Common Pleas for the County of Hartford, and all others who before had been assistants, and dwelling in the same County, he now made Justices of the Peace for the said county.

“From hence his Excellency passed through all the rest of the countys of New Haven, New London and Fairfield, settling the Government, was everywhere chearfully and gratefully received, and erected the King’s Courts as aforesaid, wherein those who were before in the office of Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants, were made Judges of the Pleas, or Justices of the Peace, not one excepted nor (finally) excepting, but accepting the same, some few others being by his Excellency added to them in the several Countys, not without, but by & with their own advice and approbation, and all sworn by the oaths (of allegiance and) of their respective offices, to do equal justice to rich and poor, after the Laws & Customs of the Realm of England and of this his Majesty’s dominion.

“The Secretary, who was well acquainted with all the transactions of the General Court, and very well understood their meaning and intent in all, delivered their common seal to Sir E. A.” (Conn. Col. Doc., 2, 399-91 )

Connecticut under Andros passed a period of peace and quiet. Governor Treat and Secretary Allyn were made members of the council and judges, besides being intrusted with military commands, and every thing went on quietly. There was an evident disposition to favor Connecticut, and every reason why it should be favored. We hear of no complaints against the government or the laws. The worst hardship recorded is the settling of intestate property according to English law, instead of the customs of the colony. It is true that town meetings were forbidden except once a year, but there

were frequent sessions of the courts held, so that the citizens were not deprived of all the common interests of their lives. With Allyn the Governor was on most friendly terms, modifying several regulations at his suggestions and entrusting him largely with the management of Connecticut affairs.

To make a proper catalogue of miseries, our Connecticut historian, Trumbull, is obliged to borrow and relate doleful stories from Massachusetts, not indeed asserting that they happened in Connecticut, but certainly producing that impression.

There were many reasons why Connecticut did not resent the government of Andros as much as was the case in Massachusetts. In the first place, Connecticut had had a lawful government, and a law-abiding people; its charter had not been taken away as a punishment, but as a political necessity. Massachusetts had been fighting for a system of more than questionable legality, and in a spirit which might well seem to the royal officials to be seditious. Connecticut had had a form of government in which the people had really controlled public affairs; in Massachusetts the government had been in the hands of an oligarchy, who resented most bitterly their deposition from power as robbing them of their peculiar privileges. In Connecticut, the ecclesiastical system at this time was judicious and moderate. The radical tendencies of the New Haven colony had been held in check by the wiser policy of Hartford. Persecution had never been a feature of Connecticut religion, and though a superstition common to all parts of the



world had led to the judicial murder of several poor wretches for witchcraft, there had been no general outbreak of that delusion. In Massachusetts, Andros found himself opposed and thwarted in every way that the angry leaders could devise; in Connecticut, though men were attached to their self-government and resented its loss, he was received with respect and consideration. One is lead to suspect that with all their pride in their charter and love of their liberties, the leading men of Connecticut were shrewd enough to see the advantages that they received from the new arrangement. They saw the arrogance of their old rivals of the "Bay Colony" humiliated; they had the pleasure of seeing Hampshire County compelled to come to Hartford to court, and they felt themselves favored and trusted by the Governor. Besides all these considerations, from the situation of Connecticut, lying as it did between Massachusetts and New York, it was much to Andros's interest that he should keep the colony well disposed, and he took some trouble to do so.

And after all, what do the charges of tyranny and misgovernment amount to, even in Massachusetts? The real *gravamen* of all the charges is, that the charter had been taken away, and that the people of Massachusetts did not enjoy what they had always claimed as their birthright the laws of England. The personal charges against Andros were so frivolous that the colonial agents did not dare to put their hands to them when the case was brought to trial in England, and confessed by their nonappearance that they were false and malicious.

It is not likely that Andros was always conciliatory. That a population of dissenting Whigs should put difficulties in the way of the public service of the Church of England, as by law established, must have been to Andros unendurable; and it is absurd to represent his use of the South Church of Boston, for the religious services of the national church, as an instance of malignant despotism. It is far from improbable that Andros was compelled against his will to be as civil as he was to the American non-conformists, because his master was trafficking with them in England. While men like Alsop and Rosewell and Penn were basking in the favors of the Court at Whitehall, a governor of New England, even if he had wished, could not venture upon any acts of oppression in America. In fact, Andros's actions in insisting on the services of the English church in Boston may be considered among the most creditable in his history, and exhibit the character of the man. He risked offending the king, and did offend the Puritans, in order to show respect to that historic church of his nation, which king and Puritans alike desired to overthrow.

It is quite probable that Andros was at times rough in his language. Uncle Toby's excuse may be pleaded for this certainly not uncommon fault of military men. Besides, there were a good many things that must have made the use of strong language a relief. He did not have a very high appreciation of Indian deeds. Few honest men to-day, legal or lay, would differ from him. He reviled the palladium of New England liberties, the towns! Perhaps he did. In this he was in advance of his

age. He reorganized the court system, and the established table of fees, and changed the method of proving wills. The blame is not his, but, if any one's, it should lie upon the king who established the province, or the council who passed the laws. The truth seems to be that Andros was shocked and scandalized at the loose, happy-go-lucky way of doing business that had, up to this time, served the colonies, and he labored in New England, as he had in New York and as he afterwards did in Virginia, to give his province a good, efficient, general system of administration. What made it objectionable to the colonies was not that it was bad, but that it was different from what they had had. The man who does his arithmetic upon his fingers, would count it a hardship if he were compelled to use the much more convenient process known to better educated men. The case was the same in New England. They did not want to be improved; they had no desire for any more efficient or regular administration than they were accustomed to. They preferred managing their own affairs badly than having them done for them, were it ever so well. It is not difficult for us to appreciate their discontent.

It is harder for us to put ourselves in Andros's place, and to feel with him the disgust of an experienced and orderly administrator at the loose and slipshod methods that he saw everywhere; the indignation of the royal servant of the king at hardly concealed disloyalty and sedition; the resentment of a devoted member of the national church of England at the insults heaped upon it by the men who had failed in their previous attempt to destroy it.

Andros failed to conciliate Massachusetts. An angel from heaven bearing King James's commission would have failed. A rebellion against his power was carefully prepared, doubtless in concert with the Whig leaders in England; and when the news of the English Revolution came, Massachusetts broke out also, arrested the Governor, destroyed the government, and set up an irregular government of its own. The object of this revolution was evidently to overthrow the Dominion of New England, and to resume separate colonial independence before the new English authorities had time to communicate with Andros. There is no reason to think that Andros would have tried to hold the country for James. His respect for the law was with him the reason for his loyalty to the crown, and though he was personally attached to the Stuarts and had acted under James for many years, he was Governor of the Dominion not for James Stuart, but for the King of England.

The popular leaders were indeed afraid, not that Andros would oppose the Revolution in England, but that he would accept it, and be confirmed by William and Mary in the same position he had held under James, and that thus the hated union of the colonies would be perpetuated. Their revolution was only too successful. They had their own way, and the events in Salem in 1691 were a commentary on the benefits of colonial autonomy.

In Rhode Island and Connecticut, the old charters were re-assumed. In Connecticut, as there had been little break when Andros came, so now there was little trouble when he departed. Secre-

---

—  
—

tary Allyn had managed the affairs of the colony before the usurpation. Secretary Allyn had been the chief intermediary between Andros and the people. Secretary Allyn continued to manage Connecticut affairs after Andros had gone. The particularists succeeded in getting possession of the government, in spite of the opposition of a strong minority, and Connecticut, like Massachusetts, returned to her insignificant but precious independence.

Andros was kept in prison in Boston by the revolutionary government for nearly a year, and then sent to England, where, as has been said, no one appeared against him. Hutchinson complains that the Massachusetts agents were misled by their counsel, Sir John Somers. When one considers that Somers was one of the greatest lawyers the bar of England has ever known, one is inclined to believe that he knew his clients' case was too bad to take into court.

The government of William and Mary found nothing to condemn in Andros's conduct, and showed their appreciation of his services by sending him out, in 1692, as governor of Virginia. Into his successes and his failures there, I shall not enter. Suffice it to say, that they both displayed the same features of character as we have already remarked: intelligent aptitude for business, a passion for regular and orderly methods, and a detestation of meddling ecclesiastics.

He left behind him a pleasant memory in Virginia among the laity, and among those of the clergy who were not under the influence of Commissary Blair. The quarrel was an unfortunate

one, as Blair, though meddlesome and dogmatic was working for the higher interests of the Colony but the evidence he himself supplies of the temper of his proceedings, explains Sir Edmund's antipathy.

He was recalled to England in 1698, and worsted in his contest with Blair, having been unfortunate enough to bring upon himself the resentment of the Bishop of London. The record of the trial is preserved at Lambeth and has been printed in this country, and a perusal of it will convince most readers that Sir Edmund received very hard usage, and might have complained, in the words of the lawyer who was worsted in a contest with Laud, that he had been "choked by a pair of lawn-sleeves."

The rest of his life was passed at home. The government still showed their confidence in him by appointing him Governor of Guernsey. He lived quietly, passing a peaceful old age, and died in February, 17<sup>13</sup><sub>14</sub>, at the age of seventy-six. His continued interest in the welfare of the Colonies, in the service of which he had passed so many years, is evidenced by the fact that his name appears among the members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Removed from the prejudices of his own day and generation, and regarded in the impartial light of history, Sir Edmund Andros appears not as the cruel persecutor that he seemed to the Mathers and the Sewalls, nor as the envious Sanballat that Blair's fervent Scotch imagination pictured him, but as a simple-hearted, loyal English gentleman, of the best type of those Cavaliers, devoted to

